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SPEECH OF MR. GIDDINGS, OF OHIO,

Upon the Improvement of the Harbors on the northern and western Lakes.

In the House of Representatives, January 12, 1844.

Mr. GIDDINGS remarked, that the subject now under consideration having reference to that commerce from which we derive our revenue for the support of Government, is important, and therefore entitled to our attentive consideration. We are (said he) bound to examine it carefully, and to act upon it with deliberation; and I am happy in bearing testimony to the candor and ability manifested thus far during the discussion. The whole debate has been interesting to me, and will be so to the people whom I represent. They are deeply interested in the improvement of our lake harbors; and their eyes are now turned toward us, with the hope and expectation that those great interests connected with the navigation of these lakes, are no longer to be neglected. The claims of our eastern and our south-western rivers have been laid before us with great ability and force; and it appears to be expected that the interest connected with the commerce of the lakes, will be brought to the consideration of the committee, by some of the members representing commercial districts of that section.

I desire to repeat, however, what I have heretofore said on this floor, that we come here with no spirit of sectional interest; such as has been imputed to some gentlemen who have preceded me in this discussion. No, Mr. Chairman, we ask for ourselves, nothing which we are unwilling to grant to every other portion of the Union holding equal claims. We demand justice at the hands of Government, and ask for nothing more; and that, we are willing to extend to every portion of the Union. Our motto is "equal justice to all; partiality to none." These are the sentiments of our people, so far as I understand them. They desire us to look over the whole Union; to maintain and support the constitutional

rights of all, and to neglect the constitutional interests of none.

This system of protecting our commerce, had its origin at the adoption of our present Constitution. The first Congress that assembled under it made appropriations from the public treasury, for protecting the commerce of the nation. The system thus adopted was subsequently followed, until our Atlantic coast from Nova Scotia to Texas has been provided with light-houses, beacon-lights, seawalls, buoys, breakwaters, embankments, floating lights, and other commercial facilities. Our seamen in foreign countries are provided for, and every encouragement and protection is given to those engaged in the Atlantic trade. And, sir, we rejoice that these encouragements are thus given to the commercial interests of the east and south. But while we cheerfully contribute our wealth and influence to support, maintain, and protect the interests of our Atlantic friends, we demand of them in return the same generous support for our lake commerce. I am, however, aware that our friends at the east and at the south are not conscious of the importance of that commerce, in which the northwest and west are so deeply interested. It has been brought into existence, and has grown to its present importance, while their attention has been solely directed to the Atlantic. Our settlements have gradually extended along the southern shores of Lakes Ontario, Erie, St. Clair, Huron, Michigan, and Superior. A large portion of the country along these borders has become densely peopled with an enterprising and industrious population. That vast country, extending from western New York to Wisconsin, which our eastern and southern friends have been accustomed to regard as an almost unbroken wilderness, contains millions of people, whose whole commercial transactions are effected by the aid of lake navigation.

This commerce has come into existence so suddenly that I do not wonder that gentlemen are unconscious of its extent. The time when the American flag first floated upon Lake Erie is within the recollection of many members of this House, and almost within that of my own. In 1796, the schooner Detroit, of seventy tons, was launched upon the waters of that lake. This was the first American vessel that ever floated upon that inland sea. In 1797, another schooner, of about the same size, was brought out. And the number has gradually increased, until at this time there are probably not less than four hundred ships, brigs, sloops, schooners, and steamboats floating upon our lakes. The first steamboat was launched at Buffalo in 1818. There are now sixty-four employed on those western waters. Many of them are large and splendid ships, of five or six hundred tons burden. The harbor at Cleveland, that most beautiful city of the West, as late as 1825, was scarcely accessible during a portion of the year with ordinary boats, in consequence of the sand bar which formed across the mouth of the river during the summer and autumn months. In 1842, its exports were nearly seven millions of dollars, and its imports nearly six. The number of arrivals from foreign ports, during the year past, has been one hundred and eighty-four; and the clearances for foreign ports one hundred and seventy-The Cuyahoga district owns 9,386 tons shipping, and employs 565 men in its management. During the year past there have been 1,382 arrivals, at Cleveland, of sail vessels, and 1,100 steamboats making, in all 2,482. The number of sail vessels that have departed in the same time is 1,432, and of steamboats 1,100, making a total of 2,532 departures.

There was no record of the arrivals and departures at Buffalo, until A. D. 1815, they then amounted to 395. In 1840, the number of arrivals was 4,061. At one of the small harbors within my district, called Fairport, which the head of the topographical bureau has not thought of sufficient importance to demand a specific appropriation at this time, the number of arrivals and departures during the year past of vessels and steamboats is 2,458. There are other ports within the same district, at which there has been nearly one-half of the number of arrivals and departures; but I regret that I have no correct information as to the amount of business done at them. It may be sufficient to say, that the able officer who presides over the topographical bureau has informed us that he has evidence which shows the commerce of those lakes, in 1841, to have amounted to more than \$65,000,000, and in a private conversation he gave it as his opinion that during the past year it had amounted to more than \$100,000,000. We are in possession of no data by which the number of passengers crossing those lakes can be ascertained; yet, from the amount of commerce, and crowds of emigrants

and passengers, it must be evident that their numbers are very great.

There is within our own territory about three thousand miles of lake coast, on which there are very few natural harbors. Indeed, I believe there are none, except those formed by the islands in the upper part of Lake Erie, at Presque-Isle in Lake Huron, and the Manitou Islands in Lake Michigan. Seven States and one Territory, containing an aggregate population of more than seven millions, border upon those lakes. Probably three millions of that population send off their surplus produce, and receive their importations by the aid of lake navigation. And sir, I ask, what attention have we given to this hundred millions annual commerce, exposed to the perils of three thousand miles of dangerous coast, in which seven States, one Territory, and three millions of people are thus interested? Have our appropriations been commensurate with the extent of this commerce? Has the united voice of these three millions people been heeded by their servants here? Have the lives of the thousands of sailors, and the tens of thousands of passengers, who are almost daily floating upon those waters, been

protected by us? What answer can we return to those interrogatories? Why, sir, no other, than that for more than five years we have totally neglected them all; that we have in all past time expended \$2,400,000, upon these three thousand miles of coast within the bounds of these seven States and one Territory, being but little more than two thirds of the amount expended upon the Delaware breakwater, and but little more than has been laid out in the single harbor at Norfolk, in Virginia.

This, sir, is the answer, and the only answer we can return to our constituents. Think you it will prove satisfactory? Are our constituents of that character that they will sit with folded arms, and rest in mutc silence under such palpable disregard of their constitutional rights, as well as their important interests? If satisfied with these answers, they would indeed be worthy of no better treatment.

For the want of harbors to protect our shipping, our vessels are wrecked, our property destroyed, and the lives of our seamen are sacrificed. I will detain the committee a few moments, by reference to document 243 of the Senate, of the 3d session of the 27th Congress, page 17; from which it appears that, in 1842, there were wrecked on the upper lakes two steamboats, one ship, and eighteen schooners, which were totally lost: there were also driven on shore three steamboats, two brigs, and ten schooners: amid this great and extensive destruction of property, more than one hundred lives were lost. 'The official report to which I refer says, "this loss is the more to be deplored, as it could in a great measure have been prevented by the timely construction of a few additional harbors." When I reflect upon the loss of lives that annually occur on those lakes in consequence of our neglect to provide harbors, I forget the immense sacrifice of property to which our citizens are subjected by our inattention. The estimated loss during the year 1842, was over half a million dollars. Thus, many of our people were reduced to poverty by those disasters which doomed so many others to watery graves.

Nor is this loss by storms the only sacrifice which western people are compelled to make for the want of harbors. When a vessel can enter a port and come along side of a wharf, a few hours are sufficient for her to discharge her cargo; but when compelled to come to anchor in the open lake, and send her cargo ashore in lighters, they encounter a task of no trifling character. If there be only a common breeze, they cannot discharge their cargo in that way. They must wait until the lake becomes comparatively calm. In this manner they are frequently detained for a great length of time. The report of the Senate to which I have referred states, that two vessels of nearly equal capacity visited Lake Michigan, one bound for Chicago, the other for Michigan city. The former entered the harbor at Chicago, discharged her loading, took in a cargo, went to Buffalo, more than a thousand miles, discharged her lading there, re-loaded, and again reached Chicago, before the other had been able to discharge her freight consigned to Michigan city. I mention this fact as illustrative of the losses in time and the expense which western people are compelled to bear, in consequence of our refusing to them the protection which we extend to our eastern friends upon the Atlantic. I say, sir, that these losses arise principally from our neglect, and such is the undeniable fact. I, myself, have been stopped upon the bar at the mouth of Huron river, on Lake Erie, while endeavoring to enter it in a small boat, with not more than twenty barrels salt on board. We had to take the salt on shore by hand, then hoist our boat over the bar, reload, and proceed up the river to our destination. This was in 1812, prior to all improvements by Since the expenditure of a few thousand dollars means of our appropriations. in erecting piers at the mouth of that same river, I have entered it on board of those splendid steamships that so proudly traverse our lakes. Those floating palaces of four, five, or six hundred tons burthen, entered without difficulty, or the apprehension of difficulty, where an empty Durham boat would have grounded

before the fostering care of Government was exerted for the improvement of our western navigation. Such, too, was then the situation of the harbor at Cleveland: when the prisoners captured at Detroit were sent home on parole, they were landed at Cleveland. The British fleet came to anchor at a distance from land, and sent the prisoners ashore in small boats; but these boats, as I was informed, grounded in crossing the bar, and the officers and men were compelled to step out of the boats and walk across the bar. Over this bar ships, brigs, and steamboats of the largest class now pass, almost every hour of the navigable season. And the spacious harbor is filled during the business portion of the year with vessels of every size that float upon those inland seas.

These harbors received no attention from Government until the year 1826. From that period, up to 1838, yearly appropriations were made for the purpose of improving them. Under this system, piers were erected at Huron river, Black river, Vermillion river, Cleaveland, Grand river, Cunningham's creek, Ashtabula creek, and at Conneaut, within the State of Ohio. On these seven harbors, scattered over a coast of one hundred and fifty miles, there was expended, in the course of twelve years, four hundred and twenty-three thousand dollars. I do not hesitate in giving it as my opinion that, for that money, more work was done, more good was accomplished, and greater benefit was conferred, than was ever done with the like sum upon any portion of the Atlantic coast. By means of this expenditure, all those places were rendered accessible to vessels and steamboats, and the commerce of the eastern States, and of Canada, was thereby opened up to our industrious population. By this means we were enabled to ship our produce, and to bring, as it were to the doors of our people, the benefits of our eastern markets. Industry was encouraged, and enterprise was rewarded. These works, however, were of wood, designed merely as experiments, and intended, if found successful, to be replaced by permanent stone piers that should last through all coming time. The experiment was fairly tested, and it succeeded beyond the expectations of its friends. But a change came over the spirit of our national administration. After pursuing the system for twelve years, it was suddenly abandoned at the third session of the twentyfifth Congress. Instead of the ordinary appropriations for the continuance of these works, as annually reported by the Committee of Ways and Means, the then chairman of that committee (Mr. Cambrelleng, of New York) being the organ of the administration in this House, made a long and labored report against all further appropriations for that purpose, suggesting many doubts and constitutional difficulties in regard to their further prosecution. The report was sustained by the party then in power; and the tools and implements purchased by Government, for the purpose of carrying on these improvements, were subsequently sold at auction, and our lake commerce was apparently abandoned forever. I do not propose bringing partisan considerations to bear upon this subject, but I refer to these facts as a part of the past history of those public improvements. I am now most happy in saying that present indications do not permit me to anticipate the opposition of either political party to the resumption of those important improvements. So far from indulging in such fears, I feel warranted in saying that, on this subject, as well as some others to which public attention is now turned, party lines are becoming more obscure, and party distinctions less obvious. I take great pleasure in bearing testimony to the apparent union of sentiment on this question which now appears to pervade those members of both political parties, who represent the entire northwest portion of our federal Union. I rejoice at this manifestation of patriotic regard for the common good, and I hail it as the harbinger of prosperity to our people. Since the second session of the twenty-fifth Congress no appropriations have been made for the improvement of those works. They were erected of wood, and, of course, are now rapidly going to decay. They were not extended so far into the lake as

was necessary, and sand bars have formed at the entrance of some of them which now prevent, in a great degree, the entrance of the larger class of steamboats. These difficulties are hourly felt by our people; and we are anxious to see those works again resumed, and their improvement continued, until they shall be finished in a substantial manner with stone, and put in a situation to require no further attention from Government. And now, sir, what are the objections to this proposition, so just and so manifestly reasonable in itself? Why, the first great and principal objection is that which, year after year, we have heard reiterated in this hall, that they are "INTERNAL IMPROVEMENTS." Such appeared to be the objections of the gentleman from Virginia, (Mr. Wise,) who, however, appeared to think that the strict constructionists of the "Old Dominion" would be able to vote for the improvement of the Mississippi, as the commerce of that river has ever been regarded as national; and for the reason, also, that it extends up into the Territory of Wisconsin and Iowa, which are under the charge of the federal Government. But his construction of the Constitution appeared too strict to allow any appropriation to lake harbors. Now, sir, as to those harbors being internal, I will beg leave to inform that gentleman, that there are at least two sides to the territory of this Government. That the southern and northern sides are both bounded by navigable waters, beyond which are foreign governments with whom we hold commercial intercourse. Why gentlemen residing upon one of those coasts should call the other internal is not very obvious. I represent the city of Cleveland, situated directly upon the coast, and separated from the territory of a foreign Government by a wide expanse of navigable water. gentleman represents the city of Norfolk, in the "Old Dominion," situated much further inland, but otherwise holding a precisely similar relation to commerce and navigation to that of Cleveland. The Atlantic separates his district from British territory, and Lake Erie separates mine from the dominions of her majesty. Now, I submit to that gentleman, if I should be guilty of a greater abuse of language in calling the commerce of Norfolk internal than he is when he calls that of Cleveland internal. By reference to Executive Document No. 247, of the third session of the 27th Congress, the gentleman will find that, during the year ending the 30th September, 1842, there were one hundred and seven foreign vessels entered the Cuyahoga district, while but twenty-four entered the district of Norfolk. The tonnage of foreign shipping which entered Cuyahoga district during that period was 8,596, while that which entered Norfolk during the same period was 3,216. Yet the gentleman has no hesitation in pronouncing Norfolk entitled to our attention on account of its foreign commerce, while he regards the commerce of Cleveland as internal, and all appropriations for its protection as unconstitutional. The whole number of American vessels engaged in foreign commerce, that entered Cuyahoga district during the period mentioned, was one hundred and ninety-three, while the whole number of American vessels engaged in foreign commerce, which entered Norfolk district during the same period, was seventy-four. From the same document it appears that Cuyahoga district has 8,671 tons of enrolled shipping, Norfolk 843 tons. whole number of men and boys employed in the foreign trade, during the year alluded to in the Cuyahoga district, was 1,161, and in the Norfolk district 818.

And now, Mr. Chairman, I will only say that, in every aspect you may please to view it, the *foreign* commerce of the Cuyhoga district is far more entitled to the protection of this Government than is the district represented by the gentleman from Virginia. And, sir, what has been the past action of Congress in regard to these districts? Why, sir, we have expended in front of Norfolk more than one million seven hundred thousand dollars, while at Cleveland, so far

as I can learn, we have expended about one hundred thousand dollars.

It is not my intention to cultivate a feeling in favor of local interests or of local jealousy, but I ask, is this justice? Do you deal impartially with us? Are the

favors of this Govetnment meted out with an even hand? Do gentlemen believe that the people of the west will continue silent under such flagrant partiality?

But some gentlemen appear to suppose there is scarcely any other State demanding attention or holding claims upon Government than "old Virginia." Why, Mr. Chairman, Ohio contains an agricultural people; our commerce is regarded as of secondary importance; yet, sir, in 1842, we built forty-nine vessels of the aggregate capacity of seven thousand nine hundred and four tons, while Virginia built twelve vessels of the aggregate capacity of eight hundred and eighty-nine tons, being less than one-eighth part of the amount built by Ohio. I would make no invidious comparisons, but I may be pardoned for saying that, from the documents before us, it appears that during the year alluded to, Ohio built more tons of shipping than Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Mississippi, Alabama, Louisiana, Arkansas, Missouri, and Tennessee: Yet, sir, our whole State has received at the hands of this Government for harbor purposes less than one-fourth part the money that has been expended at Norfolk alone, and about one-eighth as much as the Delaware breakwater has cost the nation. I desire it to be understood that I find no fault with what has been done for our Atlantic commerce; I complain of what has not been done for our lake harbors. The gentleman from Virginia talks of strict construction. eomplain that his construction is too strict; it confines the appropriations too strictly to the "old Dominion." I contend for such a latitude of construction as will extend our protection to our whole foreign commerce, at least. The "strait jacket" of which he speaks is altogether too strait for our interests; it binds the conscience of the wearer too tightly, I fear, to permit him to be just. I repeat, that we ask nothing for ourselves but what we are willing to grant to others. Beyond this we are not prepared to go. We would be just to ourselves as well as to others; and we feel as free to demand justice to the commeree of the lakes, as we are to grant it to the Atlantic. We were sent here to maintain the rights of our people, and not to yield them up; in the spirit of kindness and liberality to urge upon the consideration of this body that justice which is so obviously our due.

But, sir, I desire the attention of the committee to some few other facts, which may perhaps have some bearing upon the claims which we of the west desire to press upon the attention of gentlemen. During the year ending on the 1st day of October, 1842, there cleared from the ports of the United States for Canada, one thousand three hundred and forty vessels, whose aggregate capacity amounted to 229,009 tons, on board of which were employed seventeen thousand eight hundred and eighty-eight men and boys. During the same period there cleared from our Atlantic ports for Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland, two hundred and eighty-seven vessels, whose aggregate capacity amounted to one hundred and fifty thousand eight hundred and fifty-seven tons, on board of which were employed five thousand nine hundred and eighty-five men and boys. I mention these facts for the purpose of showing the comparison between the whole foreign eommerce on our lakes, and our whole Atlantic commerce with the United Kingdoms of Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland; and I will add that, during the period alluded to, there were cleared from the United States for the foreign ports. of the whole world 4,529 vessels, whose aggregate capacity amounted to 740,497 tons, and were navigated by 43,377 men and boys. Thus it appears that about two-fifths of all vessels that cleared from the United States during the year mentioned, for all foreign countries, were upon our lakes, and that our tonnage, and the hands employed in its navigation, bore about the same proportion to those engaged in our foreign commerce with the whole world. And yet, sir, is this commeree to be characterized as internal, and of no national importance? Are the vast interests connected with this commerce to be disregarded by us? Are the lives of the sailors upon those lakes entitled to no attention? I feel authorized

in saying, that the time has arrived when the cry of "local interests," "internal improvements," and of "strict construction," in regard to our lake commerce, will no longer satisfy the members of either political party. They will no longer see their vessels wrecked; their property destroyed; their commerce ruined; their sailors drowned, for the purpose of gaining political partisan advantages. They demand of their servants here attention to these subjects, and no slight ex-

cuse will satisfy the people for future neglect.

There is, however, an evil connected with these appropriations that originates further back than the proposed reference to a committee. It is in the estimates made by the various departments and different bureaux. I refer particularly to the estimates for harbor improvements, for fortifications, and for the navy. Thus the whole estimates made by the topographical bureau for the lakes, rivers, and Atlantic, amounts to about \$800,000, while those made out by the engineer department for fortificationa are, \$1,400,000. This I regard as wrong. I regard the protection of the lives of our sailors and passengers to be vastly more important than the piling up earth and stone on various parts of the Atlantic coast, there to remain as so many monuments of our want of foresight, and to be visited in coming time as the curious remains of a dark and ignorant age.

These estimates for fortifications are twice as large as they should have been, while those for the improvement of our lake harbors are as much below what they should have been as the others are too high. Our harbors are of present and of constant use. They preserve our property, and protect the lives of our people now in existence. Our money expended on them, returns its equivalent as soon as it is laid out. Not so with our fortifications. They can be of no earthly use, until our country shall become involved in war, which no one apprehends will take place during the present generation. Nor will they be of any possible use even in case of war, unless it be a war with an enemy who will invade our territory, which no man can apprehend. But should we become involved in a war with such an enemy, I doubt whether he would be likely to march his men within reach of the cannon in our forts, while he has the use of steam to land them at any point he may select. Yet we continue to expend millions of money to build forts as though we expected war, and that too with a nation who would dare to invade our territory, and at the same time possess the folly to march up before our cannon for the purpose of being shot. Sir, with less than a fifth-part of our present population, without arms, or the skill to make them, without ammunition, without an army, without a navy, without money, and without forts, we defended ourselves against the most powerful nation of the earth. But now, sir, in a time of peace, with no prospect of war with any nation, we pay out our money for forts and neglect our harbors, under the plea of being

I feel proud in repeating what I have heretofore said, that on our Ohio coast, embracing a distance of two hundred and fifty miles, we have never had a fort. In case of a war with England, that coast would be more exposed than the same extent upon the Atlantic. Yet, sir, I would oppose any appropriation for fortifications in our State. I should regard money expended in fortifications there, as money thrown away; they would be regarded as monuments of the cowardice and the folly of our people. Should we unfortunately become involved in a war with Great Britain, I feel that the people of our gallant State possess the patriotism and courage to defend our territory against any force that can be brought against us. Give us harbors to protect our property, and seamen in time of peace,

and we will protect our soil in time of war.

As to this expenditure for fortifications, I have heretofore in a former Congress expressed my views. I repeat that they belong to the warfarc of a by-gone age. They were fitted to the science of war as it existed prior to the discovery of steam, to the invention of railroads, and that vast improvement in the sciences.

and arts that have given character to the age in which we live. But the day of their utility has passed, never more to return. They are hereafter to be regarded in the same light that we now look upon ancient citadels and baronial castles: Yet, sir, we adhere to this exploded system, and continue to appropriate our money to purchase sites for new fortifications, to carry on and complete those already begun, and to equip, arm and man those completed, as though we regarded them important to our national safety, while all the rest of the world look upon them as they do upon the armor used, or the coats of mail worn in the thirteenth

century. But, sir, while the estimates for harbor purposes in the whole nation, as before remarked, amount only to \$800,000, the amount of estimates for the navy are nearly \$9,000,000. I regard this proportion between the Lakes and the Atlantic as unjust in the extreme, Indeed, its injustice is so palpable, that forbearance on the part of our western people ceases to be a virtue. Duty compels usto open, frank and determined opposition to such flagrant disregard of our inter-I submit to our eastern friends, whether justice to our people, or justice to ourselves, as Representatives, will permit us to vote for appropriations so obviously unjust. Why, sir, I think I may safely say, that for the past five years, Ohio has paid one-twelfth part of all our public revenue. That one-twelfth of all the moneys appropriated for the navy and fortifications is drawn from the pockets of the people of our State. During this five years, our lake commerce has been totally neglected, while we have paid for the protection of the Atlantic commerce, and Atlantic fortifications, more than three millions of dollars, or more than seven times as much as we have received at the hands of this government, since our admission as a state into the federal union. It is now proposed to expend, during the coming fiscal year, for the navy, for fortifications, and for harbors, say \$11,000,000. More than \$900,000 of this must come from the people of Ohio; and what proportion of this money is to be expended for the protection of Ohio commerce? Why, it is proposed to expend on the harbor at Cleveland, \$30,000. Besides this, there is to be sixty thousand dollars applied to all the other harbors on the lakes, to keep them in repair. What proportion will be expended in Ohio, is uncertain, but I will estimate it at \$30,000, making \$60,000 to be returned to our people out of the \$900,000 by them paid for those purposes. It is thus made evident that we pay for these purposes, fifteen dollars to the federal government for each dollar proposed to be expended on our coast. But this is not the worst state of facts; for we have paid nearly the \$900,000 for these purposes during five years past, but have not received one dollar in return for the improvement of our harbors. Yes, sir, during that period, we have paid our money to aid in building those magnificent ships now floating upon the Atlantic, to fit them out in princely style, and to send them to all parts of the world, to attract the attention, and to be admired by the subjects of foreign governments: while Congress has disregarded our rights and our interests, and permitted our lake shores to be strewn with the wrocks of our ships and the bodies of our sea-Sir, shall this state of things continue another year? How long shall our people be compelled to witness the destruction of their property, the ruin of their fellow citizens, and this vast annual sacrifice of life, while their money is drawn from them to support a splendid navy, to maintain an idle army, and to erect useless fortifications? I hope, sir, that the subject may be referred to the Committee on Commerce, who I believe well qualified to answer these interrogatories in a proper manner.

I fully concur with my colleague (Mr. TILDEN) as to the committee to whom.

the subject should be referred.